NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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Vol. 7, No. 11 NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY 3, 1955

... and a peaceful '55 to YOU

THE LAW

McCarran Act is upheld; threat to labor seen

IN ONE of the longest opinions in its history (76 pages), the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia during the week before Christmas upheld in a 2-to-1 decision the constitutionality of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. It also approved a ruling under it that the Communist Party must register as an agent of a foreign conspiracy and list the names of its officers and members with the Attorney General. Defense attorneys Joseph Forer and John Abt promptly announced they would appeal the case to the Supreme Court.

The majority opinion was written by Judges E. Barrett Prettyman and John A. Danaher. In a 14-page dissent, Judge David L. Bazelon held that the law violates the constitutional ban against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment. Accepting the government contention that the Communist Party is a "criminal conspiracy," he argued:

"Suppose an act of Congress required bands of bank robbers to file with the Attorney General statements of their membership and activities and imposed criminal penalties upon their leaders and members for failure to do so? Such an act would compel individuals to disclose their connection with the criminal conspiracy. No argument could reconcile

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Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"That's the college debating team. Dedicated to freedom of inquiry, freedom of exchange of ideas, freedom of speech."

WAR & PEACE

Paris Rebellion points to worst crisis of U.S. policy by next spring

By Tabitha Petran

WASHINGTON placed its year-end accent on promised stability at home and abroad. Its confident talk, however, could barely conceal the crises brewing on almost every front of its "cold war." The N.Y. **World-Telegram** said bluntly (12/18):

"We've been losing the cold war. President Eisenhower and Secy. Dulles know this. . . . [They] realize that unless there's a break our way by March or April worst crisis yet could loom."

Instead of "a break our way," events are developing to expose the inherent contradictions of Washington's policies—and nowhere more clearly than in France. There, the National Assembly debate on Western European Union (latest guise for W. German rearmament) showed once again the impossibility of Washington's attempt to organize W. Europe—with any degree of stability—under German domination.

WHO'S THE ENEMY? After France's rejection of EDC (earlier form of W. German rearmament) last August, the U.S. and Britain tried to stampede formal acceptance of the "new" scheme (WEU and EDC are virtually identical) before public opinion could rally to fight it. The Assembly debate, which began Dec. 20 and had been expected to end with ratification by Xmas Day, showed that the attempt had at least partially failed.

Four out of five committee reports were against the treaties (to rearm W. Germany, admit it to NATO); so were most of the speeches. Gaullist Jacques Soustelle struck the most responsive note when he said that for France "an alliance with Russia is a geopolitical imperative," and demanded East-West talks before ratification. The N.Y. **Times** reported from Paris (12/23):

"The speeches on the floor and talk in the corridors indicated there was no enthusiasm in any quarter for the Paris agreements and that those who would vote for them would do so either to keep the Mendes-France government in office or to avoid a breach of the Atlantic alliance. There was almost universal hope of successful negotiations with the Soviet Union and the debate would have led a listener to believe the Assembly considered the potential enemy to be the Germans rather than the Russians."

TIGHTENED SCREWS: The first vote, on Dec. 24—281-257 against W. German rearmament—was followed by the "harshest" (**NYT**, 12/27) pressure yet from Washington and London, which threatened to rearm W. Germany with or without France, reading France out of the Western Big Three if it did not ratify. Paris sources termed this pressure "a kind of foreign intervention," and to U.S. criticism that France is showing itself "incapable of taking decisions" retorted that

". . . in this context it is not a question of a capacity to take decisions but of a capacity to take a decision running counter to what seems to be overwhelming public opinion" (**NYT**, 12/26).

Premier Mendes-France employed a variety of maneuvers and deals to win enough votes for ratification: 1) staked his government on a confidence vote; 2) resorted to a tortured demagogy in which he "came close to maintaining that the best way to avoid German rearmament was to vote to authorize

(Continued on Page 5)

Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

"You know, I could swear I'd heard that voice before somewhere."

WE WILL NOT GO ALONE

A New Year for America's youth

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

I SPEAK as a child of this day, of this age. I speak for all the other children who, like myself, have come into this Christmas world with hopeful eyes, only to be told, "There is no room in the Inn. . . ."

No room free of fear, no room free of need . . . but a dim stable of hunger, physical or spiritual or both, under the threat of Herod's greed and Caesar's war. Many of us have homes, true, but no place free of uncertainty. Not a child in the world today can grow up confident of this adult world.

In Forsyth County, there are three or four homes for wayward children or for the children of wayward parents. These homes are not financed or staffed as they should be. In our streets of both the poorer and richer sections of the city, the children of different races must grow up without proper care of parents, teachers, without the necessary recreational programs . . . and always under the threat that, "even if I am a good child, I will face hard times or war . . . of being drafted . . . of no real chance to go to college. . . . Why should I care? The movies, TV and funny books suggest more exciting ways. . . ."

ALSO in Forsyth County, there are more millionaires per capita than in any similar area in the nation. These people live up to their responsibilities only insofar as they see fit under so-called "free enterprise." The only genuine freedom they generate is their freedom to exploit. It is the child outside the Inn who suffers . . . and his cries which are regarded as subversive, as a threat to the Innkeeper, a threat to Herod, a threat to Caesar. For if his cries would be silenced, Privilege and Profit must abdicate as King and Queen . . . and Love and Conscience must mount the throne.

Still in Forsyth County Jail, there is a young man charged with belonging to an organization which advocates violence. I doubt the charge, but I don't doubt why it was made. Profit and Privilege do not want to give up their throne; and, when the

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THE MAIL BAG

Name them "tyrants"

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As a native born American who detests hypocrisy, I would like to launch a fund for the protection of those who suffer from persecution by men who preach "freedom" and practise tyranny. Let us call a spade a spade and name those men "tyrants" who have any part in taking away the precious freedoms guaranteed in our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Cedric Belfrage is an honest man who practises what he preaches, and as such should be supported by all those who feel America must straighten itself out in refusing to oppress his kind. It would be against my conscience to stand by or sit on the fence when such a momentous issue is at stake. So I am sending along a $5 contribution to the "anti-persecution Belfrage fund." **Miriam Stern**

The show-how

PLUMSTEADVILLE, PA.

As I see it, our government is as dishonest as a burglar. Their deeds in the Pacific Ocean are monstrous for they lie, cheat and deceive for gain, the same as any housebreaker. No wonder we have so many criminals when men in our top echelons show them how.

Jane Spokes

The Belfrage order

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I was shocked to read about Cedric Belfrage's deportation order and want to contribute in my small way to help you fight against this outrageous persecution. As I am unemployed, this is all I can afford at the present time.

Mrs. Rose Matthow

The view from China

KAIFENG, HONAN, CHINA

You know better than I do how the Belfrage persecution is the first wedge against shutting the mouth of the whole of the progressive movement, and how much the GUARDIAN must mean in welding the various movements, and how much such a tribune will mean in the development of a strong progressive party for 1956.

I think that simply by giving honest reporting and strong support for frame-up victims, Joe-must-go movements and other items quite unconnected with the organized progressive movements, the GUARDIAN has been doing a great deal to weld the grassroots all over the country and bring such individual movements and problems into the potential orbit, at least, of a great future popular movement. However this movement is expressed, the GUARDIAN has been laying down an important basis for it. **Shirley R. Huang**

Spellman on the 5th

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Rt. Rev. William E. North
Managing Editor, The Tidings
Los Angeles 7, Calif.

Dear Monsignor North:

The Tidings (Dec. 17) quotes Cardinal Spellman as saying recently that "If [appeasers of Communists] continue to be apathetic towards Americans who take refuge behind the Fifth Amendment — Americans unworthy of the honor of being citizens of this mighty nation . . . then America shall be destroyed."

Aside from the sophistry of his equation that defenders of the Fifth Amendment equal Communist appeasers equal traitors, his assertion violates important principles of American constitutional and policy philosophy. Sen. McCarthy's hucksterism which has made "Fifth Amendment Communists" at least as well known and evil as the epithet "Papist Spy" ought not to be endorsed by a responsible head of the Church. A Sokolsky or a Fegler may have the amelioration of invincible ignorance. They must be judged in the light of the temptation of the succulent rewards of a corrupt press titillating the passions of the mob.

The Church does not, of course, warrant the political and constitutional erudition of even a Cardinal. But the Church does say he speaks authoritatively for the faithful when he speaks of morals. It is here Cardinal Spellman, so it seems to me, seriously errs.

In his article, the Immunity Bill (Georgetown Law Journal, Vol. 42, No. 4, p. 254; May, 1954), Mr. Leonard B. Boudin, a distinguished member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the State of New York, relates the history, effects and impact of the Fifth Amendment. He spells out its morality in values which seem to me to be essentially acceptable to the Catholic position. Cardinal Spellman and The Tidings will see in it, I am sure, facets obscured by the anti-intellectualism which dominates the official Catholic press and responsible Church leadership.

Daniel G. Marshall

How crazy can you get dept.

No one really knows how many illegitimate babies there are in Germany today because, for several years, occupation authorities discouraged any overall census.

The number of "stepchildren" is likely to be on the increase as long as soldiers are stationed in that country. But in the coming years a lot of youngsters are going to get a break—they are going to be reared in the American way on American dollars.

—American Weekly, Dec. 5

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under the above heading. Winner: D. G., Austin, Tex.

We had pot luck

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Herbie is seeking
The spotlight again.
But who will forget
The good old days when
"A chick in each pot
Will be everyman's lot."
So Herb kept the chick
And ran off with the pot.

J. H. Sherman

Los Angeles Daily News

"Boss—ya shouldn't have DONE it! A 5 CENT RAISE! This means EVERYTHING . . . London . . . Paris . . . Vienna . . . Winters in the south of France!"

Angels' banquet

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Anyone in the San Francisco Bay Area (or anywhere else, for that matter, if he or she can get here) who raises $10 for the GUARDIAN —either in donations or subscriptions or both—will be the guest of the No. California Guardian Committee at a fine dinner, with name entertainers and a notable speaker, in mid-March.

Details in this area (no collection) will be forthcoming after the first Bay Area Conference of Guardian Committees in San Francisco Jan. 8 at a noon luncheon.

Send donations and subs through Malvina Reynolds, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, Calif., and receive your reservation for the March Angels' Banquet in San Francisco.

Malvina Reynolds

Gentleman from Michigan

LEONIA, N. J.

I think GUARDIAN readers would like a profile of the new U. S. Senator from Michigan, Patrick V. McNamara, who unseated Homer Ferguson. McNamara had the backing of AFL and CIO, and is an honorary member of the AFL Steamfitters Union, in which he had been a local official in Michigan.

He will, of course, be given a spur towards a pro-labor attitude by Auto, UE and other Michigan labor. However, on joining the 96-man club in Washington, all the usual pressures will be on him to "conform"; i.e., to be as reactionary as possible while still retaining a "liberal" coloration.

Therefore, while he will have some restraints from the labor side, it is important that he have as broad as possible a lead from progressive areas of thought.

Vic Levitt

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Wars are precipitated by motives which the statesmen responsible for them dare not publicly avow. A public discussion would drag those motives in their nudity into the open, where they would die of exposure to the withering contempt of humanity.—LLOYD GEORGE.

NEXT WEEK'S GUARDIAN

WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR 1955? Can today's uneasy peace expand to blot out the cold war? What would world trade on the one hand, or a continuing "war boom" policy on the other, mean to American working people and small business? How can our national resources be developed for the good of all? Who will put democracy back on the track in our country and wherever our influence and example can help? Is there a rallying point for American progressives in behalf of these and other historic objectives of our era?

THE GUARDIAN seeks the answers to these questions. In our Jan. 10 issue—next week—we will present some of the background facts of the state of the nation, as it enters the new year, on which the answers must be based. We think the contents of our next issue will be useful to you, and especially helpful in discussions and contacts with your friends and neighbors. **Extra copies may be ordered at 4c each postpaid. Enclose stamps or cash to Bundles, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.**

—THE EDITORS

A NEW YEAR PLEDGE

For America's youth

(Continued from Page 1)

young child grows old enough to understand his needs and the needs of his fellowman, he may have unusual ideas about changing things in favor of him and his own sisters and brothers.

We may not agree with his ideas, or we may; that is our right to decide. But we cannot avoid facing the fact that unless the authorities can and will offer solutions for the needs of the children outside the Inn, they cannot fool us by declaring that someone with new ideas—is subversive. We may not agree with him, but, unless his right to speak is guaranteed, unless he can work without being jailed, then we, outside the Inn, must also risk having to stay in the stable. . . .

FOR we are young people who intend to live, to fulfill our talents, to carry out our lives in a way that will increase the fullness of all human life. We have no quarrel with the Past; neither do we expect unearned favors from the Future. Yet the events of the Past have laid upon our backs a mountain of danger and uncertainty, of the threat of H-Bomb war and hard times and growing up to no decent job and no happy family life. Race hatred and wasteful habits would cause us to stumble and to think less of our fellow humans. We reject these things and will do our best to help remove these dangers.

For we do not believe we can win a happy future if our spirits are rusted with the ancient prejudice and ignorance which have divided young people before us. Too often have young people tried to win—alone—and failed. **We will not go alone.** We will join together the best strength of spirit and hand of all our races and creeds, for we are confident we possess the key to a victorious and happy life in a more democratic America—**in our own lifetime!**

The key to our victory is our democratic unity, our understanding of one another. This unity is precious to us, and we shall let **no person or power** divide us by the fears and prejudices of the Past. Our fellowship shall be a serious union of youthful hands and hopes; we shall be joyous in the face of difficulty and **shall not waver.**

YOUNG people of America, move with us! Let our hands reach out in friendship to all our brothers and sisters at home and to all our sisters and brothers in other lands.

We shall live, we will fulfill our creative destinies together, we will overcome the threats of hatred and war, we will work to establish brotherhood in this land and to share brotherhood with all the world.

—Will Inman

Guardian Editor tells why he remained silent before the inquisition

By Cedric Belfrage
(Second of a series)

LOOKING back over almost a decade of "cold war," we can see that Washington's drive to turn the American course 180 degrees from peace to war and from tolerance to active bigotry has met with a frustrating blend of success and failure. To sum up briefly, it has brought the American horse close to the dark water of war and fascism but still can't get the horse to drink.

It has been effective in muddying the American melting-pot tradition of live and let live by the many-pronged onslaught upon "communists" and "communism"—words which, we may say out of painful experience, not one American in 100 could define intelligently after all the confusion deliberately created by the inquisitions abetted by press, radio, TV, movies and every organ of public information. The campaign to distort words has been the cold warriors' outstanding success.

"WHY NOT SAY SO?" The people show signs of wearying of the inquisitions; they do not get as excited as they are supposed to get when more "communists" are "revealed"; but they are still in a fog as to the real nature of the inquisitions with respect to American tradition and law, and they still subscribe by and large to the McCarthy concept of "Fifth Amendment Communists." Everywhere the question is still asked, wonderingly or angrily:

"Well, if he's innocent, why doesn't he say so?"

The first answer is that in the American tradition there is nothing to be innocent of, as far as adhering to any political group or set of ideas is concerned. Nor can this be altered by any theory or charge that a given group "advocates overthrow by force and violence." The American tradition, plainly set forth by Jefferson and Lincoln and many more, is that among the people's rights is to overthrow a tyrannical government. Presumably, if the government is tyrannical it will take some bloodshed to overthrow it, as the American Revolutionists found out. If the vast majority of the people do not think it tyrannical, as is now the case, it will not be possible to overthrow it. To suggest that the present government with its tremendous array of power can be overthrown by 25,000 Communists with all the allies they can possibly muster, even supposing that is what they would like to do, is to enter the realm of fantasy.

Washington Post

"Forsooth, your Worship," Maid Marian told the Sheriff, "t'would naught avail to summons yon lusty outlaw with kingly subpena. Fain am I to believe he would invoke the Fifth Amendment, and eke hide behind the same."

THE CONSTITUTION: But progressives are charged with more serious things before the inquisitions—for example, espionage or other activity for a foreign power—and they still invoke the Constitution in refusing to answer in their own defense. It is easy to lend superficial plausibility to such charges in the present state of the world, with one half of humanity moving on the tide of socialism and the other half resisting the tide. The formula is simple: You believe that if our society were more planned, it would be more just ("totalitarianism"), and that planned societies should be left in peace to demonstrate this if they can; Russia is "totalitarian" and wants to be left in peace; therefore you are an agent of Russia. The picture of an "agent" or "spy" is filled in with the inquisitors' verbal propaganda tricks: X, who knows or has met Y, is described as "contacting" or "linked with" Y in a circle of acquaintance that becomes a "cell" or "apparatus."

Why is it a lie to accuse the inquisitors' silent victims of "hiding behind the Constitution?" The answer is another question: What is the Constitution? It did not just happen casually, any more than the 40-hour work week happened casually. Men and women who suffered under old tyrannies fought and died for these precious things. The Constitution reflects the burning desire of men set on freedom to write a basic and unassailable code to end the abuses of religious and political inquisitions. The new American inquisitions of today—actually trials under the name of "investigations" and "hearings" in which due process of law is simply ignored—are an attempt to make Americans accept once more what their ancestors rejected and sought to make forevermore impossible.

The Constitution is the bill of goods which brought millions of people, including myself, here from other countries. To invoke its protection is to defend it not only for oneself but for everyone in America. If the courts will not always defend it, then the duty of the citizen—and still more of the foreign-born who consciously adopted it when they adopted the U.S.—to do so is that much greater.

THE DEVIL: In his play of 17th-century Salem **The Crucible**, Arthur Miller dramatized how completely an innocent person was—and would still be—at the inquisitors' mercy without these Constitutional safeguards. If he denied consorting with the devil, he was hanged because he could not disprove the sworn testimony of another; if he admitted it, he was hanged anyway unless he denounced others—it didn't matter whom—who were also "seen" in Beelzebub's company; and so the hangings and denunciations went on.

Today the punishment for denial has changed to a jail term for perjury; for admission without naming others, to a jail term for "contempt." For remaining silent, the Salem punishment of being pressed to death beneath heavy stones has changed to consignment to an economic ghetto or, if you are an "alien," deportation. The dilemma remains the same—that it is no more possible to prove you are or were not a "communist" or a "spy" than it was to prove you were not a "witch," except by the one method of denouncing others to save yourself.

The danger of citation for "contempt" if you answer even one question in a given "area" of enquiry and balk at any other question in that "area" leads to such fantastic situations as my own before the Velde committee, when I could not tell the simple truth about my accuser Elizabeth Bentley: that I had never seen the woman in my life. Still more fantastic, I could not admit to being editor of the GUARDIAN, since Velde had prejudiced the issue in advance by calling the paper "a propaganda arm of the Kremlin." Had I replied, I would have opened the door to questions I could not legally refuse to answer, and hence to "contempt" citation if I did refuse. Of course, contempt is a mild word for what one feels toward these committees; but offering oneself for a period of enforced impotence behind bars is not necessarily the best way of showing it.

THE MAD HATTER: In my own "case," I had like many thousands of progressives then—and far too many still today—been insufficiently aware of the dangers, and of my Constitutional rights to protect my innocence, when the FBI came to pester me in my home back in 1947. I answered all the agents' questions on the naive assumption that they only wanted the truth, rather than to fish for "leads" which distorted Justice Dept. minds might distil into poison for use against myself and others. I bitterly regret that I did not send the political policemen politely about their business as any responsible person they visit ought to do. But better to defend the Constitution late than never.

When it came to my deportation "hearing," the proceedings began with the same string of Mad Hatter's questions—some of them stemming out of what I told the FBI, and with a few brand new ones added—on which I had invoked the Fifth before Velde. These I simply ignored. To some of them, the answer would have been a simple "yes," as for example: Did I "publicly urge clemency for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," greet the Hollywood Ten when they came out of jail, speak at a meeting with Howard Fast? Of course I did—and why not?

Other questions related to people I never met, or were obviously "fishing" or in the realm of pure insanity, or followed the "Have you stopped beating your wife?" pattern. But in any case it was obvious that these questions were flung at my head merely to get publicity unrelated in any way to the case that was to be presented; the government was well aware that I would not even take the stand at the outset of the case as a government witness, and that it could not legitimately ask me to do so.

PRUDENCE PREFERRED: I had started out with the strongest desire to take the stand in my defense, if only to state my awareness of the government's real reason for moving against me—that I edit a paper it would like to, but dare not by direct means, suppress—and to proclaim my and the paper's real position politically.

I felt I should be willing to take some measure of personal risk to do this. Yet I was forced to realize that the personal risk was greater than any friend would want me to take; that there were further risks of enmeshing others, merely by telling the truth about my relations with them; and that since I would have to invoke the right of silence in some areas, even more distorted "presumptions" might be drawn from partial than from total silence, and thus more harm than good done to my case.

Whatever I might say could not possibly have disproven the "charges" brought, relating to the years 1937-38, with regard to which government witnesses lied under oath. The testimony we actually introduced was more effective in revealing the sham of the "charges" than any denials by myself which the government would have promptly claimed to be nothing more than "self-serving."

(NEXT WEEK: My deportation "hearing" analyzed.)

The GUARDIAN would welcome comment and questions on this series.

Now comes clam chowder

A PHONE call told British writer Cedric Belfrage today that he is to be deported for "one-time Communist Party membership."

Belfrage, on a 5,000-dollar (£1,780) bail since arrest in May 1953, was at his editorial desk in the offices of the Left-wing National Guardian.

He scribbled down details, put them in a "pending" tray, then told his staff of 20: "Well, I'm out; I'm going for a bowl of clam chowder." (Clams and sliced pork, tomatoes, and potatoes boiled together.)

Belfrage, in the U.S. since 1945, announced tonight that he would appeal.

Daily Express, London

HOW THE NEWS CAME TO ENGLAND

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

What Belfrage did in Germany to make him a target for McCarthy

"The impact of drama . . . the force of a documentary . . . the flow and sweep of a fine novel."—BARRIE STAVIS.

Order TODAY from National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.—$1.50 ppd.

Anniversary record ready

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN's recording of its second annual dinner in New York is now ready for mailing. This year's record has an additional feature: highlights from the Guardian Angels Ball in Los Angeles.

It is a 33⅓ rpm LP recording with 45 minutes of the highlights of talks by the GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Corliss Lamont, Ring Lardner Jr. (one of the Hollywood Ten) and Gloria Agrin (one of Belfrage's attorneys in his deportation case). You will also hear the GUARDIAN's West Coast representative Tiba Willner and music by Doretta Morrow and Ernie Lieberman.

It is, in our opinion, better than last year's and makes a fine focal point for an evening of GUARDIAN friends in your community or for your personal pleasure. It puts into focus some of the sharpest issues of our time.

For details write to GUARDIAN RECORDS, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

HE'LL SEE HIS CHILDREN

Fear felt for Sobell as assassin goes to Alcatraz

By John T. McManus

FOR scientist Morton Sobell on Alcatraz Island, serving a 30-year sentence for alleged complicity in the Rosenberg Case on the unsupported testimony of a government witness himself in jeopardy, this New Year seemed the brightest of many.

By special permission his wife, Helen, for the first time since he entered Alcatraz in November, 1952, could bring their children to visit him for two hours later this month. They will be able to see one another through a glass panel, talk via telephones. On four holiday greeting cards allowed him for the first time this Christmas, he sent cheerful messages from his country's grimmest prison.

LIFE IN DANGER? On the outside, however, there is deepening concern for Sobell's safety among 300 of the nation's most hardened and violent criminals. During Christmas week the news came out that among Sobell's prison mates at Alcatraz now is Alexander Pavlovich, Yugoslav seaman who on Oct. 23, 1953, attacked and nearly killed the imprisoned Communist leader Robert Thompson with a 3-ft. length of iron pipe in West Street detention prison in New York.

Pavlovich, a Yugoslav fascist accused by the U.S. government of at least one kidnaping and assassination, was scheduled to be deported the afternoon of the day he attacked Thompson. A year earlier he had mutilated himself with a razor and threatened to slash immigration officials assigned to remove him from Ellis Island for deportation.

Indicted and tried for assaulting Thompson, he was sentenced to three years in prison for assault "with intent to commit bodily harm." The government produced witnesses to show that Pavlovich had conspired with a fellow prisoner to obtain the length of pipe "to get Thompson on the chow line" in order to win sympathy and the right to remain in this country by killing a leading Communist.

THIS YOUNG MAN'S GOING ON A LONG JOURNEY
This is the picture Morton Sobell has in his cell at Alcatraz of his wife, Helen, and son, Mark, 5.

MEET ETHEL JULIA VAN HAAREN OF ROTTERDAM
This expressive Dutch miss was born in March, 1953, and named by her parents for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Her parents sent this picture to the GUARDIAN last week, with season's greetings for all of you and especially those working for vindication for the Rosenbergs and freedom for Morton Sobell.

5 KILLED THERE: In a direct appeal to President Eisenhower Dec. 26, Helen Sobell wrote in part:

> "This man's presence, the recent prison murder of William Remington and the character of Alcatraz cause me to ask for the immediate transfer of my husband to a regular federal prison. In the Prison Bureau's pamphlet, **Alcatraz Island,** it is stated: 'Five prisoners have been killed in altercations between inmates since the institution was established.' . . . I know my husband has committed no crime. I know that he does not belong in any prison. To have sent him to Alcatraz when he has never been accused of committing a violent act, in prison or out, and when he has no previous prison record, cannot be justified. The Bureau of Prisons describes Alcatraz as established for prison trouble-makers. I ask your help so that we will not have to live each hour with impending tragedy hanging over our heads."

THE WORLD WATCHES: Mrs. Sobell's letter to the President, which she released to the press "because my husband's life is in immediate danger on Alcatraz and because I feel that you [President Eisenhower] would like to know the feelings of others on this matter," brought to public attention for the first time the fact that Pavlovich had been transferred to Alcatraz. Previously Mrs. Sobell had appealed to James V. Bennett, federal Director of Prisons, for her husband's transfer to another institution. Dozens of clergymen, social workers and leaders in all walks of life have written similarly to Bennett. In her letter to the President, Mrs. Sobell told of this and concluded:

> "Throughout the world as in our country, people have questioned the justice of my husband's conviction and sentencing. Our country must preserve its reputation for goodness and humanity in the eyes of the world. I teach my children that their father has been taken from them through a mistake which must be corrected soon. My husband has already spent five of the best years of his life in prison. [Sobell was kidnapped by FBI accomplices while vacationing with his family in Mexico in August, 1950, and has been in federal custody since.—Ed.]
>
> "We have just been granted the unprecedented privilege of bringing the children to see their young father at Alcatraz. We would like to see him in a room, not through a pane of glass, and speak to him directly, not through telephones. We have suffered much, we may have to suffer more. Please give us the minimum protection and the minimum of living which would result from my husband's transfer out of Alcatraz."

CHRISTMAS GIFT: The permission to bring the Sobell children, Mark, 5, and Sydney, 15, to see their father for the first time since Nov., 1952, came in a letter to Mrs. Sobell from Alcatraz Warden Edwin B. Swope a few days before Christmas. Mrs. Sobell had requested this privilege and received it officially a few days after a story appeared in the San Francisco **Chronicle** (12/15) quoting Warden Swope that "children of prisoners on Alcatraz are now being permitted to visit their fathers under some circumstances."

Your voice is needed to get Morton Sobell out of Alcatraz

WHY Morton Sobell is confined to Alcatraz is hinted at in a letter from one of the nation's top atomic scientists to Director of Prisons James V. Bennett, asking Sobell's transfer elsewhere. A copy was sent to Mrs. Sobell, who has asked the GUARDIAN to withhold the name of the author of this and other similarly-purposed letters. The scientist wrote:

> "I believe the evidence against Mr. Sobell is very flimsy, but this is beside the point I wish to emphasize. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S., which is most abused and criticized these days, I believe was inserted to forbid the extraction of confessions from people by torture, a proceeding that was used during the middle ages and with which the Founding Fathers of this country were well acquainted.
>
> "Of course we do not use the rack and pinion any more, but perhaps the confining of a man on Alcatraz who, so far as I know, gives no evidenee of being a dangerous criminal, likely to kill his guards, likely to make desperate attempts to escape, is a way of applying pressure to secure a confession from a man.
>
> "Mr. Sobell refuses to confess to the crimes for which he was convicted. That is his right, and I do not believe the government should try in any way by mental or physical pressure to make him confess. For these reasons I should like to suggest that Mr. Sobell should be moved to an ordinary prison of the U.S. There seems to be no reason why he should be confined in a more rigorous prison than such people as Alger Hiss or David Greenglass or Mr. Remington or other people of this point of view."

ASSORTED JUSTICE: This letter was written in July. In November, 1954, William Remington was killed by fellow-prisoners at Lewisburg (Pa.) penitentiary; a few days later Hiss was released from there with time off his 5-year sentence for good behavior.

Hiss and Remington were jailed for perjury for denying allegations of Communist activity against them by Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley; Greenglass and his wife Ruth were charged with being co-conspirators with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in atomic espionage activity. They were the chief witnesses against the Rosenbergs. Greenglass was sent to prison for 15 years; his wife was never indicted.

"A POLITICAL PRISONER": Other letters stressed other points. A Massachusetts social worker wrote:

> "Recent efforts of the FBI to bribe him to 'confess' and implicate others (when he steadfastly maintains he has nothing to confess and would never subject others to like persecution) give proof that Mr. Sobell is held as a political prisoner and could be released if it served political ends. The fiction that he is 'dangerous' collapses overnight."

From a Schenectady minister:

> "If all those interested were saints or all interested were devils, I should still have to have the same opinion as to the confinement of Mr. Sobell in Alcatraz; and I would join bishop or radical in urging his transfer. . . ."

TIME IS NOW: Letters have been sent by physicians, professors, trade union leaders, lawyers, artists, writers, publishers and others not identifying themselves by occupation.

Your voice in this campaign can be of inestimable help and the time to be heard is now.

Write to Director of Prisons Bennett, Justice Dept., Washington, D.C., and to President Eisenhower, urging Morton Sobell's transfer from Alcatraz to an institution near his family and attorneys in New York. If possible, send copies to Helen Sobell, c/o the GUARDIAN.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

it" (NYT, 12/27); 3) announced a 10% increase in the family subsidy in an effort to win MRP (Popular Republican) support; 4) reportedly promised the foreign ministry to the MRP's Robert Schuman who, as foreign minister, won a reputation as the most pro-Washington statesman in France.

FORMAL VICTORY: On the first confidence vote Dec. 27 the Assembly voted 289-251 to admit W. Germany to NATO. Amendments to delay implementation of the treaties until after East-West talks were withdrawn at the Premier's plea. The vote to admit Bonn to NATO was 25 short of an Assembly majority and far less than the overwhelming majority Mendes-France had demanded. A small vote for the treaties, he had said early in the debate, would be worse than rejection. At GUARDIAN press time the crucial second vote on rearming W. Germany had yet to be taken. Experts expected the Premier to win but on the smallest of margins.

If Washington won a formal victory, its importance could not be minimized. But, as the N.Y. **Post** warned

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THE NEW LOOK.

(12/27), "the cost of victory will be prohibitive both for the French government and the western alliance." The **Wall St. Journal** said the Assembly's

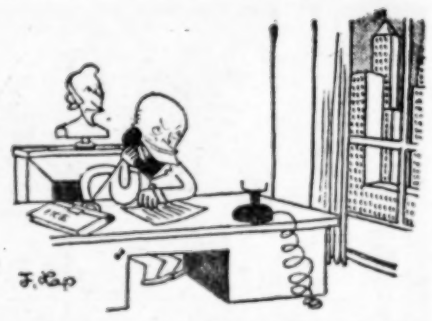
> ". . . preliminary rejection . . . expresses the actual attitude of the majority of the legislature and of much of the country. . . . [Hence] one is entitled to question the worth of the [final] decision."

WHITHER GERMANY? France's overwhelming opposition to U.S. policy, and its "reluctance to accept the major premise—that a Soviet menace existed" (NYT, 12/26), were exposed at a time when—as NYT pointed out—in W. Germany "misgivings" are growing and "as elsewhere in W. Europe, the pressure for 'one more try' at negotiations with Russia is strong." This grassroots repudiation of Western policy throughout W. Europe is one aspect of the crisis developing within that policy. Another is pointed up by Moscow's warnings that ratification will abrogate the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet alliances. Dismissed in the West as propaganda and empty threats, these warnings are highly significant moves clearing the way for the U.S.S.R. to negotiate directly with W. Germany, if it wants to. Said Walter Lippmann:

> "We are on notice from Bonn and from Moscow that the basic question of Germany's position in Europe will not be settled by ratification. We shall be entering a period of complicated dealings over whether unified Germany is to be allied with the West . . . remain in the middle, or . . . be allied with the East. . . ."

In the "period of complicated dealings" over Germany's future, the U.S.S.R.'s proposed all-Europe collective security system will prove far from a dead issue. As against NATO—a military bloc obviously directed against the socialist and colonial worlds—the proposed collective security plan is open to all, directed against no nation or group of nations.

THERMONUCLEAR INSANITY: Now the West, deciding to gear NATO to "tactical" atomic war, justifies its growing reliance on super-destruction weapons as the only means to overcome



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Hello, Molotov? I'd like to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal."

the other side's "advantage of vast masses of expendable manpower" (Sir John Slessor). The admission is clear that—in contrast to the socialist world and the colonial liberation movements—the West cannot command popular support nor even rely upon its own people; hence insisting upon the superweapons, it alienates itself still further from its people and all mankind. London's **New Statesman** commented (12/25) that

> ". . . very soon the NATO powers will have made themselves unable to fight anything except the kind of thermonuclear war which would end civilized life in Europe. . . . [Peace, in the official Western view,] can be achieved only through thermonuclear strength, and civilization defended only by men sternly prepared to see us blown to smithereens."

The ultimate absurdity of the West's policy was unconsciously revealed by C. L. Sulzberger (NYT, 12/25) in a column resentfully describing the "widespread fears already latent in Europe" over the dangers of H- and A-bomb tests, and the "fearful effect" of scientists' warnings about the menace of these tests to mankind itself, and concluding:

> "Moscow is slowly and successfully mobilizing international opinion to demand an end to these experiments upon whose discoveries and success the safeguarding of democracy may ultimately depend."

NO ANSWER: That the NATO decision was apparently dictated in part by budget considerations merely points up the hopeless contradictions in which Washington has enmeshed itself, in its attempt to maintain and restore "free enterprise" around the world. Joseph C. Harsch (**Christian Science Monitor,** 12/24) pointed out that "the decision runs contrary to the enormous demand of the allies to avoid atomic war," undercuts the whole argument for W. German rearmament, and offers no answer to socialism's political and economic challenge.

In a world witnessing "the most widespread revulsion against war in history" (CSM, 12/27), Washington for all its talk of peace is committed to a policy which can only lead to war. In an era when that policy is increasingly isolating Washington from all peoples and can be maintained only by the threat of mass-destruction weapons, the first business for Americans is to understand the roots of that policy so they can begin the enormous task of changing it.

Knott in Dallas News

NEW CUSTOMER

Equal justice for Walter Irvin

IRA L. GIDDENS, now 41, formerly wildlife agent for Florida's Fresh Water Fish and Game Commission, drove beside James Jones' car and shot him to death in 1950. Jones was a Negro. Giddens was convicted of second degree murder and sentenced to 30 years. The Florida Supreme Court concurred. Giddens recently was freed. The Florida parole board, the Raiford Prison warden and many citizens recommended release. Giddens is white.

Walter Lee Irvin, now 27, formerly wood-pulp worker of Groveland, Fla., was shot by sheriff Willis V. McCall on a November night in 1951. He was handcuffed to a fellow prisoner and was being transferred from Raiford to a new trial ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court. Irvin recovered; the other died. A third youth had been murdered by a deputized mob on the night of the alleged rape of which all three were accused. The fourth was sentenced to life on the chain-gang.

The St. Petersburg (Fla.) **Times** editor and a group of white ministers—Florida Committee on Social Justice—have appealed to Gov. Charley Johns and the parole board to spare him. An NAACP petition to the U.S. Supreme Court for review has stayed Irvin's execution. Irvin is a Negro.

Petitions for Walter Lee Irvin are urged to Gov. Johns, Tallahassee, Fla.

McCarran Act

(Continued from Page 1)

such an act with the Fifth Amendment's command."

ANTI-COLLECTIVISM: He also used this argument:

> "The Fifth Amendment . . . is a clear and eloquent expression of our basic opposition to collectivism in the unlimited power of the state. It would never be allowed by Communists, and thus it may well be regarded as one of the signs which sets us off from communism. . . ."

The majority decision, by implication at least, supported the validity of the recent Brownell bills outlawing the Communist Party and making trade unions subject to the Subversive Activities Control Board; these measures were passed by Congress as amendments to the Internal Security Act. The Appeals Court itself in September ordered a rehearing on the appeal to determine what bearing the new laws would have on the older act. In these proceedings government attorneys refrained from defending their constitutionality (GUARDIAN, Nov.8).

"THOUGHT CONTROL": In its original brief the defense said of the Internal Security Act that

> ". . . its terms and the principles which it established deny the protection of the First Amendment to all Americans and impose a system of thought control upon the whole people."

In a supplemental brief filed in October it contended that the 1954 law of the original act are enlarged and not only "confirms our analysis of the original act" but that "the due process and First Amendment defects intensified." The brief warned that the "overriding issue . . . is . . . whether the Constitution itself will survive."

The bird

A Republican bird called McCarthy
Ruled a roost with vociferous malarky;
But people got wise,
Blew him out of the skies,
Broke his wing—and the heart of his Party.

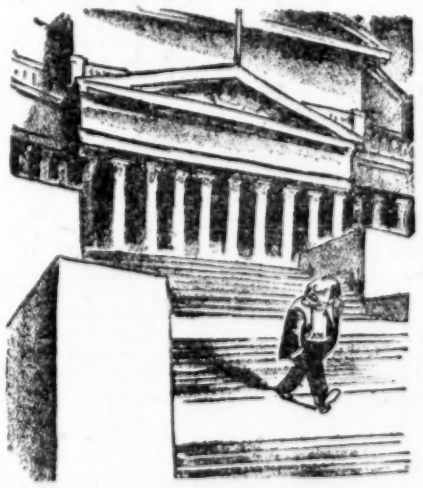
A Hunter

4-YEAR STRUGGLE

Hyun wins fight to avoid S. Korea

A FOUR-YEAR fight to save Korea-born architect David Hyun from deportation to South Korea and possible imprisonment or death there was won Dec. 22 when the government agreed to let him seek a visa to a country of his own choice. The ruling was made after a direct appeal to the Attorney General under a section of the Walter-McCarran law which provides that no person shall be forcibly deported to a country in which safety or life would be jeopardized.

Hyun was arrested in Los Angeles on a deportation warrant in October, 1950, on charges of Communist associations while a resident of Hawaii during the war. He was defended by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and his case attracted world-wide attention. The committee called the ruling "an outstanding victory for humanity."



Chicago Sun-Times

"Aw—you're a bunch of communists!"

Q. How big is big? A. Still bigger

WHILE small business is losing money or disappearing altogether, the trend toward greater wealth in the hands of still fewer corporations has become a tidal wave under the Eisenhower Administration. Latest figures published jointly by the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities & Exchange Commission spell out the story.

In 1954's second quarter the total net income of all manufacturing corporations is reported at $2,922,000,000—an increase over 1952's second quarter (last comparable period under the Truman administration) of $325,000,000 or 12.8%. This is how it is now divided:

The net income, or profits, of corporations with total assets of less than $1,000,000 has declined by 25.7%; for those with assets between $1,000,000 and $10,000,000 the decline was 6.5%. But corporations with assets of $10,000,000 or more have increased their net income by 31.6%.

The combined net earnings of the biggest corporations now represent 64% of the total for all companies; in 1952 it was 55%.

Meanwhile earnings of the little companies—those with assets of less than $250,000—in this year's second quarter are 44% lower than in 1952.

The current annual rate of profit on stockholders' equity for the biggest corporations with assets of $100,000,000 or more is 12.3%, about 50% greater than for most of the smaller groups.

The oil industry, specially-favored under the Cadillac Crusade, is doing nicely. It has the highest percentage of profit on the sales dollar: 10.2 cents. That compares with six mills profit per sales dollar for textile mill products.

It seems what's good for General Motors is good for big business generally.

SIR JOHN DANCES TO STATE DEPT. TUNE

Ceylon premier on visit here bars visit of kidnaped woman

(The author, an American married to a Ceylonese, who at the U.S. Embassy's instigation was shanghaied aboard a U.S. plane last March and brought to the U.S., appealed to GUARDIAN readers Nov. 8 to write to visiting Ceylon Premier Kotelawala supporting her plea to be reunited with her husband.)

By Rhoda Miller de Silva

MANY GUARDIAN READERS, who found time to urge Sir John Kotelawala to grant me an audience during his visit here, have received a letter from Ceylon's Embassy in Washington that must have caused the earth over Sen. McCarran's grave to tremble:

> "The Government of Ceylon would offer no impediment to Mr. de Silva's departure from Ceylon for the U.S.A. . . . should Mrs. de Silva obtain for her husband the right of entry into the U.S. for residence here."

In a world where indigenous people's revolutionary movements are branded as "internal aggression," I suppose we should not be shocked by this sophistry: an invitation to my husband to exile himself and accept the hospitality of New York's West St. Jail—since even the sordid amenities of Ellis Island are no longer available to "undesirable" aliens.

My own request for an interview with the man who signed the deportation order without which Washington could not have abducted me, was categorically refused. The refusal came not on Monday, the day of Sir John's arrival, but on Tuesday, only after he had had discussions with President Eisenhower and State Dept. officials. At a Press Club lunch later that day he explained, when asked as to his attitude toward my joining my husband in Ceylon, that his government "does not permit non-citizens—**under the guise of marriage or any other guise** . . . to promote the cause of communism" in his country. I am told that the audience's applause was enthusiastic.

Perhaps we should not have harassed poor Sir John. For in the end not he but the silent State Dept. has called the tune in this affair from the very beginning—as it is trying to call the tune in other aspects of Ceylonese life.

WHERE & WHAT? When I arrived in the U.S. last March, most of my old and new friends were not entirely clear as to where and what the land actually was from which my frightful journey started. Ceylon was "where the tea comes from"; it was a vaguely idyllic Pacific island that at the same time was "part of India." And it was also "that one with the left-wing government that trades rice for rubber with China in spite of U.S. opposition"—a government of Davids defying the American Goliath.

Events of the past nine months, with ever sharper focus on S.E. Asia, have helped clarify Ceylon's geographical position. But it has fallen to Sir John himself to lay the image of David, appealing as it was, to rest.

Let us compare two headlines. The first is the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**'s on Dec. 2, over an interview with Kotelawala: "WOULD SWAP RED AID FOR AMERICA'S." The second is from the Ceylon **Daily News** (American-controlled) several days later: "CHINA TRADE PACT WILL BE HONORED."

THE RICE STORY: These are the two voices of Sir John, one for his Washington sponsors and one for his own people who will not brook any manipulation with the food that stands between their present meagre nourishment and famine. Whether or not he returns to Ceylon with a flamboyant presentation of American "aid" is a matter of indifference to all but a handful of its 8,900,000 people—poor peasants and plantation workers, harbor workers and miners for lead ore, many of whom only recently felt the sting of American tear-gas when they sat down in their mines, striking against starvation wages. All such "aid" has a way of bypassing the people and finding its way into the rulers' padded pockets; and it can never solve the perpetual crisis of a two-crop colonial economy (most of the tea and rubber is still owned by the British).

Chinese rice, on the other hand, is something real and tangible to the Ceylonese people. The price is low and stable, and the price of rubber they sell to China in exchange is guaranteed at higher than world market prices. Also they **like** the idea of producing rubber for, and eating the food of, a country once known as a land of famine which now, building socialism, can export food to neighboring peoples. Sir John's government permits the people no cultural or diplomatic contact with China, and so the rice and rubber moving serenely between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, often on Polish ships, maintains a thread, precious to them, with the socialist world.

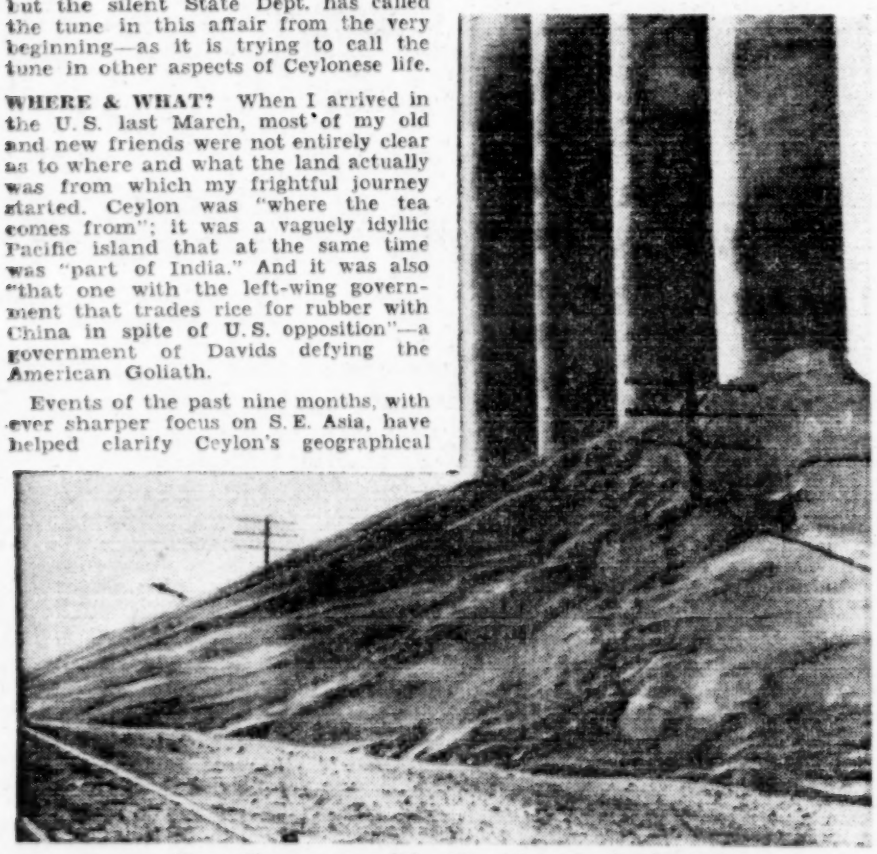
MONAZITE & STRINGS: Sir John came to power in Sept., 1953, during a reign of police terror after the hungry people had demonstrated with admirable discipline against a government that had tripled the price of rice ovenight. The former Prime Minister, alarmed at the havoc his inept and corrupt government had created, fled from his post; Sir John, an old-time British Army colonel—like Poland's Pilsudski in more ways than one—took over the same old reins.

Since then U.S. propaganda has built him up as a NEW star in the Asian political world. He has opened previously closed doors to U.S. penetration—including a monopoly on the very sands of Ceylon's beaches, which are rich in monazite (used in H-bomb production), and the grant of land for a giant Voice of America radio station. The reluctance with which he has opposed SEATO—following Nehru with scarcely concealed distaste, because to do otherwise would jeopardize the position of power he holds and loves—has placed him on the international market place. The State Dept. obviously believes he can be had, and cut down even more precisely to its specifications.

His visit to the U.S. seems to be window-dressing for Eisenhower's coming pronouncement on the "new Marshall Plan for Asia"—the one with "no strings" (the strings, in most cases, being already attached, though not always securely drawn). Sir John, as a missionary of this Plan, may well return home with a promise of "aid" that does not involve breaking off China trade (as it certainly would have a year ago). But this will not mean that David has imposed his will on Goliath. After all, the U.S. Secy. of Agriculture himself has been forced, because he has no alternative, to become a protagonist of trade with socialist countries "when that trade is beneficial."

Does anybody smell rubber burning?

Sir John Kotelawala (shown above with President Eisenhower) is a busy man these days. Fresh from his U.S. visit he arrived last week in Jakarta, Indonesia, for a conference with the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma to plan an Asian-African conference next spring. The big problem: whether to invite China. What do you suppose Dulles' counsel to Sir John was?



Breeding ground in the "horn of plenty"

This photo (pertinent to the letter, right) was taken at Liberal, Kan. The grain elevators were chock full and there was no place to put this mountain of grain, except at a railroad siding. Not the most sanitary place in the world, is it?

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

What Belfrage did in Germany to make him a target for McCarthy

"Excellent literature and history; human experience and suffering. . . . Belfrage's real 'crime' is editing our one radical newspaper." —W.E.B. DuBOIS.

Order TODAY from National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.—$1.50 ppd.

About that contaminated wheat

GUARDIAN reader Horace Casselberry of New York received the following letter dated Dec. 7 from the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, based on Lawrence Emery's article "There's filth in your food" (GUARDIAN, 11/22). We suggest other readers write to Washington if they uncover similar instances.

ON BEHALF of the Secretary we are replying to your notations on a page from the "National Guardian" dealing with various newspaper reports about grain.

While we are aware that some of the wheat in this country becomes rodent or bird contaminated or insect infested and have seen the Los Angeles **Daily News** articles mentioned, we consider that the implications of those articles are greatly overdrawn. Actually we believe that our millers and bakers are producing products unexcelled anywhere in cleanliness.

This does not mean that there is no problem. This Department is not satisfied simply because the American food supply is the cleanest and safest in the world. Our goal is that it shall be the cleanest and safest possible and the condition of wheat used for human food should be no exception.

As stated in the article you sent us, Mrs. Hobby and Secretary Benson appointed a committee last year to investigate all phases of this problem. While the study was under way we did suspend temporarily a program of seizure of carlots of grain with rodent contamination, but we did not suspend the inspection of elevators and other storage facilities for grain to prevent adulteration. The program involving action against insect infested grain mentioned in the **Daily News** articles had never been put into effect.

The grain committee reports are currently under study both here and in the Department of Agriculture. It is hoped that these studies will result in a solution that can be endorsed by the consuming public.

We appreciate receiving your views on this important subject.

Bradshaw Mintener
Assistant Secretary

NORTH AND SOUTH

Vietnam uncensored

By Kumar Goshal

FIVE months after the end of the nine-years-long war which laid waste to Vietnam and ruined France to no purpose, this was the picture Western newsmen were giving from Saigon and Hanoi, capitals of Vietnam's two halves as divided by the Geneva conference:

SAIGON (Robert P. Martin in **U.S. News**, 10/29): ". . . has the same smell of death that shrouded Shanghai and other great cities of China before they fell to the Communists. . . . Gambling casinos and night clubs . . . do a soaring business. . . . A new 300-girl brothel has opened in a compound patterned after an American motel, run by Binh Xuyen, a gangster organization that controls all the opium, gambling and prostitution traffic. . . . Its chief is also head of S. Vietnam's police. . . . Corruption is on a massive scale. . . . Speculation is rampant and profits are enormous. . . . Powerful cliques and individuals are struggling to get into office—not because they want to fight communism, but because they want power and profits. . . . Very strong criticism is reserved for the U.S., [whose diplomats] still operate on the theory that, if enough U.S. dollars are poured into Vietnam, the Communists can be beaten."

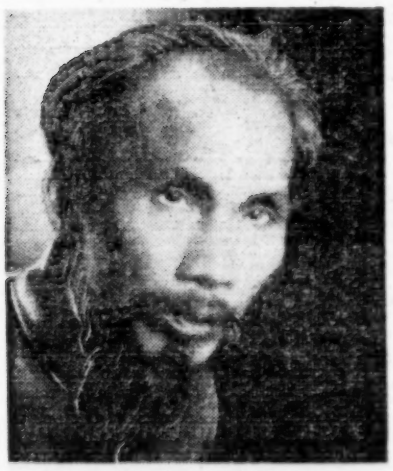
HANOI (Max Clos in **Le Monde**, 11/6): "Once more the 'experts' [who kept saying journalists might 'end in jail if they stayed in Hanoi with the Viet Minh'] were wrong. Nobody has been imprisoned. Nobody has been openly bullied. Yet in a few days the Vietminh radically transformed Hanoi . . . without violence, by a technique [of] imposing nothing, forbidding nothing. . . . We have seen the perfect functioning of the system which gave the Vietminh its victory in the north. Its force comes essentially from the fact that it touches a chord . . . in any kind of human being: the desire to lead a more honest life, more useful to his country; the ambition to take part in a great collective effort."

VIETMINH ECHOES: Visiting an area in S. Vietnam from which Vietminh forces have been moving north to comply with the Geneva Armistice terms, Joseph Alsop reported (12/20)

". . . a sort of horrified, helpless admiration for the Communist achievement—not of course for the thing itself, but for the courage shown, the incredible difficulties overcome, the sheer brilliance of the political-military feat [in] a huge region with a population of close to three million with no local resources except its rice production, with no hope of serious outside aid, situated . . . as far as possible from the main Communist base in the north. Here [the Vietminh] first raised the standard of revolt . . . nine long years ago. Such arms as they had got from the Japanese and a treasury of 75 piastres ($5) were [their] sole assets.

"An army of 30,000 regulars and regional troops was organized, trained and armed with captured French heavy weapons and small arms painfully manufactured in tiny, camouflaged local shops. . . . A permanent government was formed, complete with financial, economic, educational, health, propaganda and police services. Currency was printed, taxes were levied, and budgets were annually prepared. . . . In the very teeth of French military power. . . .

"I wish I could report that the Vietminh organization . . . was feeble, evanescent and hated by the people. But the record of its achievements in nine years all too clearly confirms my own short observation of [its] efficiency, power and popular support. . . ."



HO CHI MINH
Organizing the unorganized

"UTTERLY ORGANIZED": Vietminh's ability and popularity puzzled Alsop, who for 48 hours brooded over the "main question": "How did the Communists do it?" He recalled "long hours of . . . leisurely and civilized talk" with three local companions: his guide, a leading Saigon professional and former landowner; teacher and archeologist Pham Thieu; and a successful lawyer, Dr. Vinh. These three non-Communists had discharged "heavy and complex responsibilities" of the Vietminh guerrilla state "with marked efficiency and puritanical self dedication," working on Ho Chi Minh's three principles:

- "Serve the people.
- "Learn to distinguish between friends and enemies.
- "Rely only on ourselves, and victory and glory will be ours."

Ignoring the explanation Clos gave in **Le Monde**, Alsop reached the conclusion that because Ho Chi Minh had an "utterly organized" political party in a country "hopelessly disorganized" through Western impact, he was able to turn men like Alsop's companions "into faithful automatons."

"BLOCK THE ELECTIONS": In this situation "how to salvage Vietnam" (**N.Y. Times**, 12/19) was a prime topic for U.S. Secy. Dulles, British Foreign Secy. Eden and French Premier Mendes-France at last month's NATO conference in Paris. To the **Christian Science Monitor**'s London correspondent (12/4) it had "become clear little or nothing will be saved" after "the swift erosion that has taken place," unless "strong steps are taken quickly."

With "the U.S. getting itself more and more deeply enmeshed" (**U.S. News**, 12/10), "some American officials" felt that only by somehow postponing the all-Vietnam elections, scheduled by the Geneva agreement for July, 1956, could S. Vietnam be kept "out of Communist hands." The same picture came from Robert Guillain reporting from Saigon to **Le Monde** (12/2-4):

> "The pattern evident everywhere, never officially admitted because it is absolutely contrary to the Geneva armistice terms, is to block the July, 1956, elections, to prevent the reuniting of Vietnam's two halves and, as in Rhee's Korea, to make the southern half an anti-Communist bastion."

U.S. News admitted that any attempt to prevent the elections would run the risk of resuming the war which, said Guillain, French army leaders feel "would be madness to engage in."

WASHINGTON'S MAN: Washington was as committed as ever, at the year's end, to policies which might lead to such "madness." It sent Joint Chiefs chairman Adm. Radford, chief proponent of the bombing of China from Formosa, to check up on measures to maintain the S.E. Asia "status quo." And the **N.Y. Times'** C. L. Sulzberger reported from Paris (12/20) that, at the NATO meeting there, it was decided that

> ". . . henceforth the umbrella shielding S.E. Asia will be the 'retaliatory striking power' . . . of [Western Pacific-based] U.S. naval and air detachments . . . which suggests use of atomic weapons."

Under its umbrella in S. Vietnam—while nominal ruler Bao Dai continued to sun himself on the French Riviera—Washington continued to back Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, who "without U.S. support would melt away in two months. . . . The Young Turks of the U.S. Embassy are pleased with him because he has that rare, precious quality in Asia—he is a convinced pro-American" (Guillain). Diem was forced to fire his pro-French army chief of staff, but even after a civil war in the army between the latter's and Diem's supporters had been patched up the army retained "virtual independence" (**NYT**, 12/7). Without popular support, Diem is opposed by the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai sects, each with an army of 10-15,000, and even by the Binh Xuyen "gangster organization," all of whom accuse him of establishing a "family dictatorship."

DOLLARS & FRENCH FEARS: Out of these feuding elements the U.S. is still trying to form a coalition government around Diem, although Guillain found that "Vietnam anti-communism is without men, without ideas and without faith." Washington plans to spend $500 million in Vietnam next year, take over the training of S. Vietnamese troops by Jan. 1, whittle down the French forces, channel economic aid not through France but directly to Saigon, help S. Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia set up national banks of their own. France, as a result, stands to lose most of the $400 million previously scheduled for French troops in S. Vietnam, and is worried over what might happen when the three Indo-Chinese states

> ". . . have direct access to dollar exchange under independent banking set-ups. Will they continue to depend on French goods or will they shop around in the competitive world market?" (**NYT**, 12/18).

While French businessmen in S. Vietnam deplore "the victory of American policy gained through the stranglehold of indispensable dollar aid," they encourage French Delegate to N. Vietnam Jean Sainteny's attempt to establish "co-existence" with Ho Chi Minh (London **Observer**, 11/20). Sainteny has already signed a trade and a cultural exchange agreement with the Ho Chi Minh government.

THE WORD ON THE CAKE: Despite the urgings from Saigon of Lt. Gen. John W. (Iron Mike) O'Daniel, chief of the U.S. Military Advisory Group, to display "guts and resiliency [to make] S. Vietnam a proving ground for American determination to whip Communist infiltration of S-E Asia" (**N.Y. Herald Tribune**, 12/17), American apathy toward the remote country's fate persisted. Meanwhile in S. Vietnam peace sentiment broadened. Alsop reported (12/8) "a good deal of eyebrow raising" at three banquets given by French officials when the cook served cold fish, cold chicken and a rich cake with "Peace" spelled out in mayonnaise, truffles and the icing on the cake. The Diem government has arrested and placed on trial 22 leading members (including Catholics and Buddhists) of the Vietnamese Movement for the Defense of Peace, organized "to rouse public opinion in favor of the Geneva Agreement and to ensure . . . general elections . . . in 1956 as prescribed" (London **Observer**, 12/5).

In N. Vietnam, which "has its own constitution [and] an honest and efficient administration" (London **New Statesman**, 11/13), a trade union leader reported in the World Fedn. of Trade Unions bulletin that formerly destroyed and deserted towns are being rapidly rebuilt and repopulated; electricity has been restored in many towns; railroads, bridges and irrigation works have been repaired; blacksmiths are forging thousands of agricultural implements, and soldiers are helping the people build houses and revive production; "patriotic businessmen, foreign capitalists and workers in industry" are being encouraged on the basis of a policy that "benefits both employers and workers." Commented Guillain:

> "We may perhaps not have to wait until the July, 1956, elections to see the red flag floating over Saigon. . . . How could it be otherwise when the striking contrast is clear even to eyes closed for the longest time between the regime at Hanoi and the one that is already completing the process of decay is Saigon?"

Drawing by Dyad, London
"Who has Syngman Rhee declared war on this morning?"

WHY THEY HAVE WON THE LOVE OF THE PEOPLE
In Oct., 1953, the Vietnam People's Army liberated Nghialo in the Northwest. One of the first things it did was to hear the complaints of residents (photo above) of the area about atrocities committed by the French forces.

Heavenly discourse

While the U.S. press seeks to stir up sentiment against the Ho Chi Minh government by exaggerating the number and condition of refugees from N. to S. Vietnam, Wilfred Burchett reported to the London **Daily Worker** from Hanoi that "indignant priests" showed him "miracle photos" of the Virgin Mary which the French had issued them to persuade N. Vietnam Catholics to move south. The photo, wrote Burchett, "when manipulated from behind, frowns and the hands clasp tightly together when the priest asks whether the population should remain in the North. It smiles, opens its hands and nods when asked whether they should evacuate to the South."

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

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SYNTHETIC SANTA

Xmas is a steal for rubber, oil barons

IN Washington the halls were decked with dollar bills; during the week before Christmas the Eisenhower Administration, playing Santa Claus to the rich kids, carried out one of the first-planned giveaways and bestowed upon big oil and rubber corporations 22 of the 27 government-owned synthetic rubber plants which originally cost the taxpayers up to $750,000,000. The sales, when finally approved by Congress, will bring in a small fraction of that amount. The $50,000,000 a year profit the plants have been bringing to the government will be increased (through price increases) and go into the pockets of private firms.

The government's Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commission, which has been negotiating sale of the plants for a year, estimates their present "book" value at about $167,000,000 or about one-fourth of their original cost to the people. But the actual price paid by the firms acquiring them will not be known until the Commission submits its report to Congress no later than Jan. 27. The contracts now being awarded to private firms will not become effective until 60 days after Congress has had a look at them; actual transfer of title will take another 60 days after that. But Congress is not expected to exercise its veto power over any of the awards.

MERRY GENTLEMEN: The first sales were announced Dec. 17; the Shell Chemical Corp. got three plants in Los Angeles originally built at a cost of more than $50,000,000 but with a current "book" value of $16,000,000. The Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals Inc. and a Texas Oil-U.S. Rubber combine got three other plants at Port Neches, Texas, originally costing nearly $100,000,000 but now listed as worth only $29,000,000.

The Phillips Chemical Co., a subsidiary of Phillips Petroleum Corp., got two plants at Borger, Tex., originally costing nearly $53,000,000 but now listed as worth $16,340,000. On Dec. 21 contracts for five more plants were announced; recipients included U.S. Rubber, the Koppers Co., and a subsidiary of Cities Service Oil Co. and Continental Oil Co. Later in the week other awards went to Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., the Humble Oil & Refining Co. and the Goodyear Synthetic Rubber Corp. By Dec. 23 all but five of the 27 plants had been disposed of; these were expected to go before Jan. 1.

It was a merry Christmas for the oil and rubber people.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Hundreds urge Ike to proclaim amnesty

A LETTER expressing deep concern that there are U.S. prisoners "guilty of no crime under long-established and respected American concepts of law and justice" has been sent to President Eisenhower. It was signed by 506 lawyers, farmers, industrial workers, ministers, trade unionists, teachers, writers, scientists, business men, artists, professor and social workers in 31 states.

The letter urges, "in the interest of restoring and preserving our constitutional liberties," that the President use his influence "to help bring an end to political persecution and trials." It calls attention to Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black's statement about the 1949 Smith Act victims:

"They were not charged with nonverbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government by force and violence. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government."

EASY ASSAULT: This infringement of the rights of the 15 Communists who were imprisoned "and the 66 others who have been convicted," the letter pointed out, made wholesale assault on the First Amendment easy, resulting in loss of reputation and destruction of careers in "thousands" of cases, most of them non-Communist. It said:

"The entire fabric of our society has suffered in the development of an atmosphere of fear and distrust. And now the sweeping criteria for determining membership in the Communist Party established in the Communist Control Act of 1954 are a threat to countless individuals and organizations alike."

The President was urged, in the spirit of "a season traditionally appropriate for the granting of amnesty," to free the Smith Act victims and any others imprisoned "for their political views."

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Van Nuys, Calif.

HARRY F. WARD, author of "IN PLACE OF PROFIT," co-founder Methodist Federation for Social Action, speaks on "THE ATTACK ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM—IT'S PURPOSE AND CONSEQUENCES," Jan. 9, 8 p.m. Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys.

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SCOTT NEARING COMES TO L.A. "WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?" A timely, instructive and stimulating lecture-discussion by the eminent sociologist, Professor Scott Nearing, at City Terr. Cult. Center, 3875 City Terrace Dr., Tues., Feb. 1, 8:30 p.m. Admission: donation or new sub for Natl. Guardian.

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NEW YORK

Prospect for the needy aged: Insane asylum or starvation?

By Elmer Bendiner

TO MANY of New York's old and poor a certificate of insanity may be the only chance for board and lodging.

On Dec. 9 four homeless old people came before Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Brenner: a 78-year-old woman, unable to walk and almost blind; a 78-year-old man subject to loss of memory; a 64-year-old man with a speech handicap; an 84-year-old woman, senile and growing more helpless.

Examinations had shown them to be sane, but the judge said: "Since denial of custodial care and hospitalization to these people would probably result in their death, I find myself compelled to certify them as mentally ill." He said relatives could not care for them, that some "are unwanted or neglected," that the Welfare Dept. had claimed it lacked funds to place them in institutions.

DANGERS OF SANITY: The four were sent to an institution for the insane where at least they will get 60 days' shelter pending examinations. Then, if found sane, they will go back on the streets with nothing to look forward to but insanity that can mean a meal ticket, or death.

Justice Brenner sent copies of his five-page opinion to Gov.-elect Harriman and the Legislature's majority and minority leaders. He made his decision a demonstration exposing a scandal that shames not only New York but most of the nation: the scandal of old people (all taxpayers) living out the fag-end of their lives as guests of relatives or as public charges in shabby basement flats they can barely afford on welfare dept. grants.

THE LAST MILE: In New York State there are more than 1,400,000 people over 65 (roughly 10% of the population) and the number is rising. If national statistics hold for the state, 58.1% of the men 65-69 are employed, 40% of those 70-74, 17% of those older than 75. Only 13% of women 65-69 are at work and a negligible percentage of older women.

Women over 65 in the state outnumber the men 7-5; two-thirds of them are alone, widowed or separated. (Only one-third of the men in this bracket are alone.) There are 4,000,000 women in the country facing old age alone in widowhood and poverty.

For those who live alone or with non-relatives, whether men or women, the median yearly income is $646. Even for those who are not alone, poverty seems to come with age. The median income for families headed by a person over 65 is $1,903 and 30% of these have incomes under $1,000 a year.

THE GROWING ARMY: Private industry widely advertises its retirement pension plans and unions now write them into contracts; but throughout the country only 500,000 persons draw any benefits from these, and few plans make any provision for widows of retired workers. The worker's widow lives on but not his pension. Few benefit because the plans require as much as 25 years of work for a single employer before the age of 65.

The senior citizens constitute a vast army of men and women facing growing insecurity as industry each year gears itself to younger workers and unemployed youngsters wait for jobs at lower pay.

N.Y. State Legislature photo

"The worm, the canker and the grief are mine alone"

ASK THE LIBRARY: Where does a senior citizen go for help? The N.Y. State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging has issued a "resource guide" in which problems of the over-65's are catalogued and paired with the agencies available for solving them.

For example, those who "fear losing out on the job" are directed to: the local library, their family doctor, a mental hygiene clinic and the state mental hospital. "Finding an apartment" is a problem for the local real estate agent and the local housing authority, neither of which has any special facility for old people in a housing shortage that afflicts all ages. Financial emergencies are referred to the welfare dept., family service society, local minister or rabbi, the Salvation Army and the school system's vocational training bureau.

MEANS - TEST HANDOUTS: In none of the 46 agencies listed by the Committee did the four senior citizens who came before Justice Brenner find help for their problems. Most of these agencies, except for the welfare dept., state employment office, housing authority and mental institutions, are privately owned and operated, some for profit and some out of philanthropy.

In today's "welfare state," with its numerous alphabetic agencies that touch most people's lives, there has been little concern for the old who were always the first responsibility of more primitive societies. In the entire nation there is no public old age pension. Old Age Assistance is a handout based on a means test. The Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, in its 1953 report to the Governor, described the "typical person on OAA" as a "77 - year - old widow who worked hard all her life as a domestic, earning very little money, stopped work only when her strength gave out."

RATS AND CARDBOARD: Committee director Albert J. Abrams ran a survey on how OAA people live:

"A 70-year-old widow lives in a five-room apartment in a run-down section of town. An 80-year-old widow lives in an attic room in a house rented by her son-in-law and daughter. Two sisters, one 83, the other 85, live together in a three-room apartment on the top of a three-story tenement, with no improvements except electricity. . . . An 83-year-old man separated from his wife lives with his landlady in a five-room flat, on the third floor of a business section, and uses wood to heat the flat. . . . One must see the broken plaster on the ceiling, the rooms where the sun strives to peek through, but rarely succeeds; the toilets that do not work, the windows that will not open, the rat holes in the floors, the pot-bellied stoves that provide the only heat in a flat, the windows repaired with cardboard, the wind whistling through old structures that house the impoverished aged."

$1.50 A DAY: A person is eligible at 65 for OAA relief, but most do not apply before they are 70. Some 90% suffer from multiple ailments. Two-thirds went on working after 65 to put off the day when they had to close a lifetime of hard work with a pauper's oath. In New York there are 113,375 senior citizens on OAA. The average OAA recipient gets $1.50 a day to cover rent, food, clothing and all other needs. Half receive less than $46.01 a month. The highest grant paid, in a case requiring medical and nursing care, was $195.95 a month.

The only other resource a worker over 65 may have is his old-age-and-survivor's pension. A man who has worked 25 years at an average of $300 a month, when he reaches 65 may be able to draw an income of $98.50. It is not strictly speaking a pension. He has paid 2% of his salary every week into the social security fund earmarked for the purpose and his employer has matched it.

He will draw nothing if after 65 he is still earning $75 a month or more. He will have no OASI benefits if he has worked for N.Y. state or any local government agency, as a domestic worker or a farmer. All the years spent in occupations not covered by the OASI will reduce the benefits available to him.

"WHO, WAITING, DIED": The old-age home may be regarded as a sad end for a person who raised a family, but it does mean food and shelter and medical care, and thousands wait on lists for a chance to enter one. New York's old-age homes, all private, carry more than 3,300 on their lists but many homes turn applicants away, seeing no point in lengthening their list. Albert Abrams in a report to the Governor said: "In many cases the waiting lists are cleared by deaths of those who waited and waited and waiting, died."

Few homes are for the rock-bottom indigents. Abrams found that 44.8% require an admission fee ranging from less than $500 to more than $3,500; 10.2%, transfer of property before admission; 8.5%, transfer of property and an admisison fee of from $1,000-$2,500; 14.3%, monthly payments of from $70 to more than $100. Abrams found only two homes in the state that said most of their facilities were for the very poor. They have no vacancies.

•

(In subsequent articles the GUARDIAN will show close-ups of existing agencies and how they work; how industry treats its veterans; the fight-back qualities of senior citizens; the solutions proposed by their own organizations and others such as the American Labor Party.)

Good program

RANSOMVILLE, N.C.

Freedom is so wonderful that I think we should keep it.

I am sure that in time America, like the rest of the world, will go socialist or communist. It is far better for all of us that we should proceed via free discussion of our differences and the ballot box rather than via suppression, imprisonment, exile and violent revolution. Let's free all political prisoners, grant equal freedom to every viewpoint and apply tolerance and reason to the solution of our problems. Let's return to freedom!

Vernon Ward

NEGRO GETS STATE OFFICE

Dewey swallows 28 plums before Harriman takes over

IN THE closing days of the year Gov.-elect Harriman was finding that certain fixtures left by his predecessors could not be swept clean by his new Democratic broom.

For 12 years the Dewey machine had operated the spoils system effectively. In the last week of his term Dewey, working through the GOP majority on the Civil Service Commission, secured permanent tenure for 28 of his appointees. It meant the loss of $145,000 a year in government salaries which Harriman and Tammany boss DeSapio had counted on to pay off Democrats.

Harriman was put in the position of objecting to transferring jobs from the spoils system to civil service. He indicated his "surprise," said: "If these people should have been placed in civil service, then it should have been months ago."

THREE BOWS: Dewey also fixed up Ives' running mate, Frank Del Vecchio, GOP candidate for controller, appointing him a State Supreme Court justice at $23,000 a year. The spot opened up when Justice Jesse E. Kingsley, like Del Vecchio a Republican from Syracuse, suddenly retired.

In picking his "official family" Harriman had earlier bowed to the political machines downstate and upstate. Last week in these three appointments he bowed to labor, Negro and women voters: Charles Halloran, former head of the Buffalo Fedn. of Labor, as deputy industrial commissioner; Herbert B. Evans, Negro lawyer, as confidential law assistant to the Governor; Dr. Persia Campbell, Queens College economics professor, as Consumers' Counsel to the Governor, a newly - created post.

NEGRO JOINS FAMILY: None of these are regarded as influential positions, but the appointments are a faint recognition of voting pressures on the new machine in power. Halloran was boomed by some labor leaders for the lt. governorship during the campaign and rejected by the bosses. In his new capacity he will serve under Dr. Isador Lubin, whom Harriman appointed as Industrial Commissioner at $15,000.

Evans, secy. of the New Era Democratic Club in the 11th AD, will be the first Negro ever appointed to the "official family."

Dr. Campbell, an authority on consumer problems and member of the Consumers Subcommittee of Mayor Wagner's Advisory Committee, will head up her own staff, to advise the new administration. She is the first woman named to Harriman's new cabinet.

"BARGAINING POWER" IS THE REASON THEY'RE STILL HERE

The case of the Chinese students

SIX years ago Chang Pen Hsu left his wife and three children, then aged 5, 4 and 2, in Shanghai to study advanced electrical engineering at Pasadena's California Institute of Technology. He planned to return home in 1951, but the U.S. State Dept. refused him an exit permit because it "would not be in the best interests of the U.S." Since then, with a number of other Chinese engineering, medical and natural science students, he remains a pawn in the topsy-turvy picture of U.S.-Chinese relations. He cannot go home because he may have acquired "technical information which the U.S. did not want used against it" (N.Y. **Times**, 5/29).

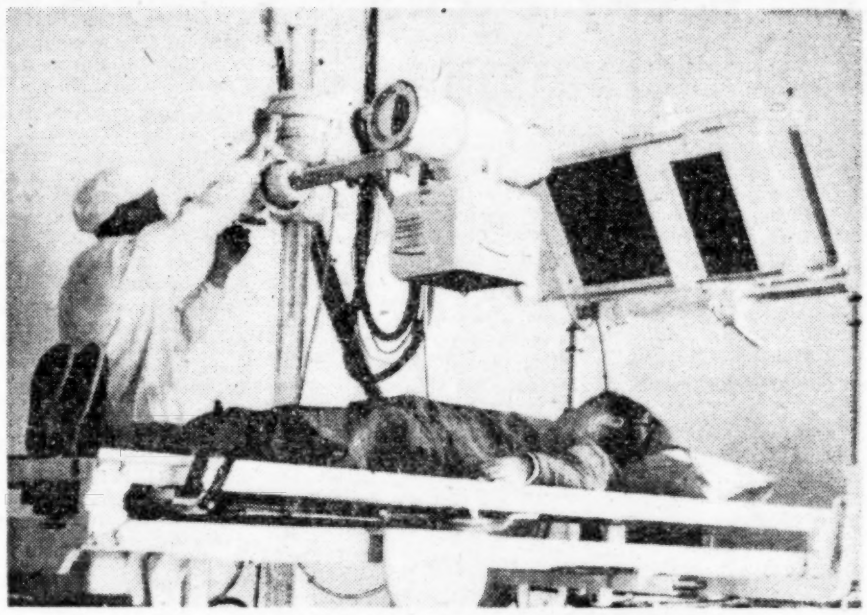
"The real reason," said the N.Y. **Daily News** (12/14), "was to give us bargaining power."

HOMELAND DOESN'T EXIST: After World War II some 5,000 Chinese came to the U.S. to study, get their degrees and perhaps do an extra year of research going home. While they were here, China's government changed hands and they became, first, citizens of a country which for Washington does not exist; then, with the Korean War, "enemy" aliens.

In June, 1951, a State Dept. regulation permitted the U.S. to control the departure of the 4,500 students then here. When some students applied to leave, the Immigration Service ordered them not to "attempt" to do so "whether or not you have a permit." One student who had sailed for Hong Kong was forced to get off the boat at Honolulu and return to the U.S.

At that time, the State Dept. said later, only 10%—roughly 450— of the students here applied to return to the Chinese mainland; of these all but 124 were allowed to leave. According to the State Dept. half of the 124 later "decided to stay"; of the other 62, it says it has agreed to let 27 more return, leaving (by its figures) 35.

"HORSE TRADE": The issue reached world prominence at last May's Geneva conference, when a Chinese delegate spoke of the students' plight in answer to U.S. charges that China was holding U.S. civilians and soldiers. From that time on, the students who have broken no laws have been linked in the U.S. press in a "horse trade" (**U.S. News**, 5/11) relationship with the Americans detained in China on charges of violating laws.



THIS IS WHAT THEY WANT TO GO HOME TO DO
X-ray operation room of the Tangshan Workers Hospital in Hopei

On their side, the Chinese at Geneva said: "This is not a subject for bargaining," and proposed that both countries accept a communique to "respect the right of law-abiding nationals and students of the other side residing in its territory" to leave for their own country." No agreement was reached. When Peking radio was reported mentioning the students on Dec. 12, the U.S. press saw this as indicating "China might be interested in a swap" (**AP**, 12/14) of the students for the U.S. airmen jailed for alleged espionage in China. Washington hinted it might listen to a "swap proposal," although "powerful howls" were expected from Sen. Knowland if any more students were released (Drew Pearson, 12/21); but the Chinese paper **Ta Kung Pao** insisted that "students and spies fall under two different categories."

FEELING OF FUTILITY: In a plea to President Eisenhower Aug. 5, 26 students in various U.S. cities said their technical training "involves no codes of secrecy," the material being available in any university engineering or scientific course here. The fact is that for an alien Chinese to get clearance to work on "classified" material is next to impossible in cold-war America. The students pointed out that many had not seen their wives and children for seven years. "Distressed and unsettled," they wrote, "we are forced to let slip through our fingers the best years of our lives." They are allowed to move freely about the country, but must report to the Immigration Service every three months.

The number of students who want to leave is probably much more than 35. Among the 26 who wrote the President, about ⅔ have applied and been rejected since the State Dept. set that figure. ". . . With a feeling of futility, the rest of us refrained from applying for exit permits," they wrote. Many completing their studies since 1951 have not applied because they feared the possible alternatives of detention on Ellis Island or deportation to Formosa, which is not their home and where they might face persecution as "communists." In 1951, when the immigration regulation was announced, several of the students were arrested and taken to Ellis Island on the technicality of working on a student visa, which does not authorize a job. The regulation about working has been eased, but the students are still in $1,000 bail.

"IRRATIONAL PANIC": A typical comment from students, who have been widely interviewed by local papers, came from Miss Chien Chou of Shanghai, who received her Ph.D. in physical chemistry from Ohio State Univ. She told the Columbus, O., **Citizen:**

> "When I saw that they fine you $5,000 or put you in jail for five years if you leave, I thought to myself, 'What did I do?' I don't know anything about politics except what I read in the newspapers. I just want to go home."

The interviews brought many readers' letters, all in favor of letting the Chinese return. One asked in the Boston **Globe** (8/30) whether Washington was not

> ". . . exhibiting an excess of fearfulness amounting to irrational panic, and giving citizens of other lands the idea that our nation is conscious of weakness rather than being confident of its strength?"

Clarence Pickett, hon. secy. of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), wrote the President:

> "It seems to me that to prevent them from returning is an arbitrary assumption of power on our hand which we would strongly and appropriately condemn if similar action were taken by other governments concerning our nationals."

Chinese bitterness is indicated in a Peking **People's Daily** editorial last June on the denial of an exit permit to Dr. Liang Mun Wang, Somers Point, N.J.:

> ". . . In the eyes of the U.S. government, it is against American interests if China has one more doctor and more Chinese lives are saved from illness. To put it another way, it serves American interests if more Chinese die of illness."

QUOTE: On Dec. 6, "with mixed feelings of desperation and hope," 31 students petitioned UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold for a hearing before UN's Human Rights Commission. Reminding him that "cultural exchange and the international flow of students are important means of promoting mutual understanding among peoples," they quoted from the UN Declaration of Human Rights:

> "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

Forum on Miami

NEW YORK's first public meeting on the "terror over Miami" is scheduled by the Yorkville Compass Club for Friday, Jan. 7, at 8:30 at Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86 St.

Dr. Royal W. France, civil liberties attorney, and Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will head the speakers with Rev. Reginald Bass of Brooklyn's Central Community Church as chairman. First-hand testimony of the Florida inquisition will be offered by victims of the terror whom the club anouncement calls "refugees from the Palm Tree Curtain." (To date 31 persons have been sentenced, 30 of them Jews and one a Cuban; over 100 are under subpena, 85 of them Jews.)

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A BANQUET honoring HUGO GELLERT's 40th Anniversary as a people's artist, Sun., Jan. 16, 3 p.m., Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Blvd., Bronx. Fine Hungarian Dinner, $3.50 per person. Chairman: Howard Fast. Main Speaker: PAUL ROBESON. Reservations: Committee, 130 E. 16th St.

AUTOMATION—The New Industrial Revolution. Speaker: Harold Robins. Fri., Jan. 7, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Place. Cont. 75c. Ausp: Friday Nite Socialist Forum.

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SAT. EVE, JAN. 29

Asia Festival to aid Kwaks

AN ASIAN Cultural Festival, sponsored by the Committee for the Defense of Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak, will be held at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St., Sat. eve., Jan. 29, at 8 p.m.

There will be Asian songs, dances and films depicting various cultural aspects of the Asian peoples. Alec Jones, exec. secy. of the N.Y. Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, will be chairman. Guest speakers will include Maude Russell, expert on Far Eastern affairs, James Aronson, exec. editor of the GUARDIAN, and the Kwaks.

Louise Mally, secy. of the Kwak Committee, said: "Our committee has been organized to help prevent the deportation to South Korea of the Kwaks. Should those courageous and talented Korean musicians be sent to S. Korea, they face persecution and possible death because of their outspoken anti-Rhee sentiments. I appeal to everyone to help fight against this deportation order and for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Law."

Tickets ($1.25) are now available at the N.Y. Foreign Born Committee, 23 W. 26th St., and at the Kwak Committee, 515 W. 111th St., Suite 3F.

Parley on jimcrow in radio and TV

THE N.Y. Branch of the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People will hold a conference on Discrimination in the Radio and Television Industries at 3 p.m., Sat., Jan. 15, at the Little Theater YMCA, 180 W. 136th St. Officials of broadcasting, advertising and sponsoring agencies and representatives of unions, church and community groups are invited.

Purpose: to consider "methods and avenues for the creation of employment opportunities of qualified Negro and non-white artists and personnel" in show business.

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NEWS NOTE: 800,000 new jobs needed in 1955 for workers entering job market. . . .

REPORT ON ALBANY

Legislature needs shakeup to let public be heard

By Arthur Schutzer

NEITHER Gov. Harriman nor the Democratic nor the Republican legislative leaders have said anything about changes in legislative procedure in the forthcoming 1955 session.

Yet, unless changes are made, we will once again suffer from a set-up which denies to the people adequate public hearings, turns out bills in a frenzied last-minute rush for adjournment, winds up the session after three months, and generally operates either with legislative apathy or legislative hysteria.

As a minimum, the following steps should be taken:

PUBLIC HEARINGS: Provide for public hearings with adequate advance notice to the public on all major legislation, not only in Albany but in other key cities. Within the past few years the Legislature has skipped public hearings on vital matters such as reapportionment of Congressional and State Senate districts.

QUICKIE SESSIONS: There is no good reason why the Legislature must end its not-too-strenuous labors at the end of March or early in April. Neither the state constitution nor any law fixes the date for adjournment. The session should continue until the people's legislative business is accomplished.

LEGISLATIVE FACTORY: The practice of having bills pile up until a few days before scheduled adjournment and then rushing action on hundreds of measures makes a mockery of the legislative process. Legislators seem scarcely aware of what they are voting on as they watch the adjournment clock ticking away.

Less dawdling early in the session could eliminate the wild hurry-up near the close. The rules should be amended so as to insure ample time for consideration of all bills.

PUBLIC RECORD: There is no permanent public record of debate in either the State Senate or the Assembly. Last year the State Senate finally made available, to the press only, typewritten transcripts of its debates—but even this may be eliminated in 1955. The people must obtain a legislator's permission before his remarks on the floor of either house may be available. This is a cozy arrangement for legislators who do not enjoy public scrutiny of their official speeches—but it amounts to private censorship of what should be a public record.

Gov. Harriman, Tammany boss DeSapio, the Republican legislative bosses Heck and Mahoney have cloaked the matter of changes in legislative procedure in bi-partisan silence. It's time for a good loud holler from the people.

40 YRS. AN ARTIST

Hugo Gellert banquet Jan. 16

DIEGO RIVERA, Anton Refregier, Robert Gwathmey and Charles White head a group of artists and others sponsoring the celebration of Hugo Gellert's 40th anniversary as an artist.

Gellert's first drawings appeared in the Hungarian labor journal **Elore**, the old **Masses** and trade union papers. His murals are in Rockefeller Center and in public buildings in Washington, D.C. Other works have appeared in New York's 57th St. galleries, in the **New Yorker** (where his profiles were a standard feature for years) and in the many books he has illustrated. The celebration's sponsors state: "He is revered . . . as an artist, perhaps more so than any other in this land, who has identified his career with that of the laboring men in this country."

A banquet in Gellert's honor will be held at 3 p.m., Sun., Jan. 16 at Hungarian Hall, 2141 Southern Blvd. (near 181st St.), Bronx. Other events will be in Cleveland (8 p.m., Jan. 22, at Hungarian Hall, 11123 Buckeye Road), and Los Angeles (8 p.m., Jan. 29, at Hungarian Home, 1251 S. St. Andrews Pl.).

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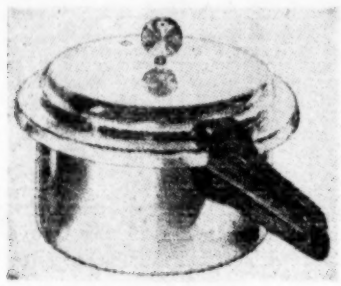

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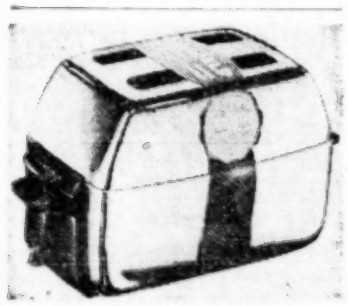

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the SPECTATOR

After George Babbitt

WHERE are our "national writers," as Aragon has named them? The authors who live in the mainstream of the common life, whose books are an expression of the people's hopes and fears? Most American writers seem to have run from the battlefield.

Sinclair Lewis was an example, I believe, of a "national writer" in our past. However limited by middle-class dogmas, his books tried to explore the national soul. In **Babbitt**, for instance, Lewis satirized the typical national trait of a boastful optimism, as personified by a little realtor who believed real estate would boom endlessly and make every American a king.

I have just re-read this novel and how far away seems the epoch! It was another and simpler world. I lived through that Coolidge epoch and sneered with its young rebels at "Babbittry." Now I catch myself almost wishing for the return of the kindly Mr. Babbitt.

HE WAS HUMAN: Since 1945 I can't recall a speech by a prominent leader that contains the classic American optimism of Babbitt. The generals and politicos who toil for General Motors and the monopolies now offer us only Goetterdaemmerung—the bleak alternatives of world suicide via the H-bomb, or another depression, or a McCarthy fascism. Any sane American would prefer Babbitt.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"They called you an intellectual, Pa."

George F. Babbitt liked people and wished them well, even though he might be overselling them on real estate. He never thought he had to acquire Asia in his business. He was satisfied with crunchy breakfast food and Minnesota, and never wanted to blow up the world. Babbitt was quite human.

At that time the Philistine Babbitt was considered the main enemy by the middle-class rebels. Unprohibited booze and sex formed their new pagan religion. Can one believe now that H. L. Mencken, the Grand Cham of American letters, once preached that Beer was the foundation of culture? The great depression was a truth that knocked such literarious trivialities into a cocked hat. It swiftly deflated Mencken, and also ruined the thriving business of the priests and agitators of "the sexual revolution," D. H. Lawrence and his train of whirling dervishes—Ludwig Lewisohn, Branch Cabell, and hundreds of other writers all hot with new-found sex problems of an overfed middle class.

AT THE SIGN OF THE STORK: It is far away and long ago. Today even the craziest individualist, saloon wit or bedroom hero writer must be feeling in his bones that something is wrong in the world, that there is a Bomb loose, and his fate is bound up with the fate of society. He may do nothing about it, but he has lost the cheerful arrogance of the Coolidge boom-intellectual.

In the depression a host of writers became personally involved in the national experience, and tried to create a literature that reflected the common struggle. This has not yet happened in the epoch of the H-Bomb. The established writers have moved into the Stork Club dreamland. The people are out under the realist sky where bombs fall and depression is feared.

When will the writers again describe the truth of our day? Ernest Hemingway was recently awarded the Nobel Prize. Master inventor of a powerful new streamlined style, there has been a frustrated nobility in Hemingway, the contempt of an honest artist fallen among thieves and commercialists. Let us praise him for his gifts, but let nobody tell us he represents America, is a "national writer" as Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman were.

The well-to-do writers have lost the personal courage and the faith in the people that impels a writer to search for truth. It is not a permanent condition. The American people will be in motion one of these days, and the writers will move with them, as in the depression. It will come! Meanwhile, in this dangerous interlude, only on the Left can one find the authors who still dare to be "national," the heirs of Thoreau and Whitman in the great tradition of American democracy.

THE PROPHET-HERO: I would name the distinguished novelist Howard Fast as a paramount example of the "national writer," and Dr. William E. B. Dubois also teaches us what such a writer can be. He is our greatest intellectual, thousands believe, a prophet and a pioneer of scholarship who freed American history of its conventional lies and suppressions, and thus revealed the heroic true face of his people.

He has been a foremost theorist of the race question, who for 60 years has fought for the honor of America. He is an artist whose prose has the grave, tragic beauty of wisdom, of the sage who has known love and struggle, and is faithful to truth and the people.

Dr. DuBois is 86 years old and is writing a novel that will sum up his time. Ah, this strong and beautiful hero of the American spirit! If the Nobel Committee is not completely the agent of finance capital on the cultural front it may not remain forever blind to the shining glory of this "national writer," this spokesman for the American soul, our Dr. DuBois!

—Michael Gold